

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2096

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NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY; SECRETARY PASS AMBASSADOR SCHAUFELER IF DESIRED

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: OVIP (SCHAUFELER, WILLIAM E.), TZ, WA, RH

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT NYERERE JUNE 12 (A) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION ASST SECY SCHAUFELER'S VISIT, (B) STATED IN CATEGORICAL TERMS HIS BELIEF IN US BONAFIDES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, (C) SUGGESTED SWAPO MUST BE ACCEPTED AS THE "DOMINANT" ELEMENT IN NAMIBIA SOLUTION, IN WHICH HE STOOD READY TO PLAY A PART, AND (D) REEMPHASIZED HIS INTENTION TO WORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. HE ALSO MADE A PLEA THAT EVEN IF NEGOTIATED SOLUTION FAILS, US NOT ASSUME "MEN WITH GUNS" WOULD BE ANTI-AMERICAN AND WARNED AGAINST FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT WITH PRESENT DISUNITED ZIMBABWE LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT NYERERE CALLED ME TO HIS HOME EVENING JULY 12 FOR WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "A CHAT AND PERHAPS A CLARIFICATION". FORTY-FIVE MINUTE CONVERSATION WAS VERY AMIABLE, ALMOST GENTLE IN TONE. NYERERE BEGAN BY EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR "GOOD" TALK WITH ASST SECY SCHAUFELER PREVIOUS DAY AND HIS GRATITUDE TO SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR SENDING SCHAUFELER. NYERERE SAID HE HAD CALLED IN BRITISH ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER STRONG THIS MORNING TO FIND OUT WHAT UK WAS GOING TO DO ABOUT RHODESIA AND STRONG HAD SAID HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS. (STRONG EARLIER TOLD ME THAT NYERERE HAD BEGUN CONVERSATION WITH HIM BY DESCRIBING IT AS "FISHING EXPEDITION" RE BRITISH INTENTIONS. STRONG CONFIRMED

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THAT HE HAD HAD NOTHING TO SAY TO PRESIDENT OTHER THAN THAT

HE WOULD REPORT TO LONDON.)

3. NYERERE SAID THAT IF ANYONE EVER HAD ANY DOUBT ABOUT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S COMMITMENT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS, THERE WAS NO LONGER ROOM FOR ANY QUESTION ABOUT IT. HE FULLY ACCEPTED US BONAFIDES AND HE ADMIRERED THE CLARITY OF OUR APPROACH. AS SECRETARY HAD TOLD SENATOR BYRD, US WANTS FREEDOM AND MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA NOT NECESSARILY BECAUSE IT LIKES THOSE FELLOWS BUT BECAUSE IT IS IN US INTEREST." HE WANTED TO ADD A FEW THOUGHTS WHICH HE HOPED WOULD "CLARIFY" HIS OWN VIEWS FOR US.

4. ON NAMIBIA, HE WAS "VERY PLEASED" THAT HIS POINT THAT THE WEST SHOULD PUT EMPHASIS ON THIS PROBLEM HAD BEEN ACCEPTED. HE REITERATED THAT A SOLUTION NOT ACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO WOULD BE NO SOLUTION. HE SAID THAT THERE MAY BE DIFFERENT NUANCES BETWEEN US ON SWAPO'S EXACT ROLE. AS HE SAW IT, AT THE CORE WAS THE NECESSITY OF "ACCEPTING SWAPO AS THE DOMINANT ORGANIZATION WHOSE VIEWS ARE VITAL". (HE SEEMED HERE TO BE DRAWING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN "DOMINANT" AND "SOLE".) IF THIS IS ACCEPTED (INCLUDING BY VORSTER), THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS NO LONGER AN IDEOLOGICAL ONE BUT A PSYCHOLOGICAL ONE, AND NYERERE WILL PLAY HIS PART IN SOLVING IT.

5. RHODESIA, NYERERE SAID, WAS MUCH MORE COMPLEX A PROBLEM. HE WOULD BE WORKING VERY HARD DURING THE NEXT TWO DAYS IN ZAMBIA TO GET "JOSHUA AND THE BISHOP" TO SEE THEIR SITUATION AS CLEARLY AS THE US SEES ITS, I. E., IF THERE IS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, NKOMO AND MUZOREWA WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO LEAD THEIR COUNTRY; IF THE WAR IS PROTRACTED, IT WILL BE THE "BOYS WITH THE GUNS" WHO WILL LEAD. THE "BOYS WITH THE GUNS" ARE STILL ZANU AND ZAPU AND THE PROPER LEADERSHIP FOR THEM IS ZANU AND ZAPU POLITICIANS. HE IS GOING TO TRY TO FORCE JOINT LEADERSHIP. IF HE SUCCEEDS, A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION MAY BE POSSIBLE AND NYERERE, AS WELL AS WEST, WILL BE A LOT BETTER OFF.

6. HOWEVER, AND THIS HE ASKS SECRETARY KISSINGER TO BEAR VERY MUCH IN MIND, IF HE FAILS, NYERERE WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE THE "BOYS WITH THE GUNS." SO WILL THE US, AND IT SHOULD NOT ASSUME IN ADVANCE THAT THEY ARE ANTI-WEST. THIS KIND OF VIEW IS SELF-FULFILLING. OUTSIDERS CAN DO NOTHING TO ENCOURAGE

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ANC UNITY. NYERERE WILL TAKE THAT ON. HE IS "TERRIBLY CONCERNED" ABOUT FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT WITH ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE ZIMBABWE FACTIONS. "THAT IS THE ROAD TO ANGOLA".

7. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR NYERERE'S THOUGHTS AND UNDERTOOK TO PASS THEM ON AT ONCE. HE SAW ME OUT IN A PARTICULARLY WARM MANNER, AGAIN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR US EFFORTS TO DATE.

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